/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

• • •

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/49 cont./

855 513 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

• • •

● 291 855 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas "

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/, [292] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming humpbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/62 cont./

581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/187 cont./

689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 ●291 177 b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

/188 cont./

689 kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt
177 of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning.
[291] The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

[21cont.]

755 796 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is organized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with [515] soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with ● 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed – which depends on the wealth 796

[56 cont.]

846 black so that he looks like an African ... . During the eight days the Indian woman attends to all the husband's work in the sown fields, loads yucca, collects firewood, etc. Later the Indian, once he has finished his period of diet, rises from his hammock, goes to the river, and with a thorough bathing washes off the black ointment until he becomes clean again and his natural self, as they say, in Adam's clothing." (39)

39. Anonymous: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo [Interesting stories and historical data about the Caquetá and Putumayo missions], 2d., I, 36-37.

In this socio-magic incident of relevant importance, in which the missionary saw nothing more than a curious aspect of Indian life, what is shown is really a change of personality when confronted with an evil spirit: The man is transformed into a woman (at least he behaves like one, taking charge of the newborn child and carrying out the roles that a woman should perform during the eight days of regulation diet), and the mother behaves as if she were the father (also substituting for him in the work which is his responsibility), and all this is done with the
846 object of warding off evil spirits from the newborn child. In
854 addition to the father completes his disguise by covering his body with what [57] the missionaries called "mourning" [luto], that is, with black paint with which he anoints his whole body. Deceived by all these tricks carried out by both the parents, the evil spirits should not know where to find the baby — who ought to be beside his mother — and so he — the child — is safe from their evil influence.

851 But this system to protect the child does not stop there.
291 It continues, according to the missionaries, as "they take the child and until it is about two years old dress it in a garment so peculiar that at first sight one doubts whether it is a human being or not. They cover all its body except its face with the juice of a tree ... very sticky, and over this juice is spread

[57 cont.]
W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her G [753] art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G [843 753 755 If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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domestery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intiahi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *poss*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana."

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairkra*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aglaetic style by a ring or crown,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *yaru* if made of plaited straw, and *capanaa* if made of wool,
●291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tordma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marai* are rotten wood;
[386] *guaanpai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parian*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The
[386] white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangrove. The
[515] Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
301 poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pina* and the *sirapo*. The pina are like a pair of braces; long strings of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pinas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iawkia*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pina until
[849] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pina make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tumi* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charuto-barrels are *suarard*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *parioya*, and *guarivioya*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish marbleyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one of
[435] perfect is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipana*, from *akepa*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashikondr* and the common *guarikoua*.

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516

Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P. 2]
[P. 1 Contains no text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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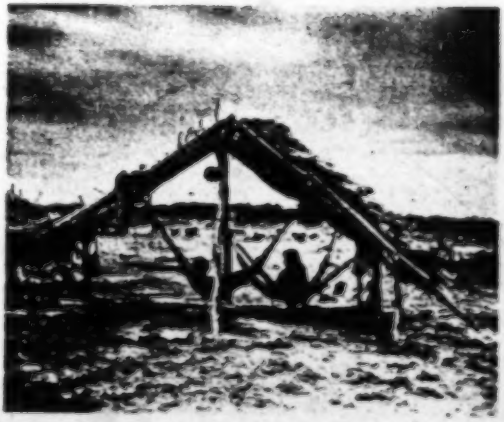
516
142
●291
[854
845]

By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

342
513
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

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302
142
●291
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Our men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

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412]

[facing p. 33]

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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilizados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *máwia*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

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123
142
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276
372

Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

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291

Chinas, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[facing p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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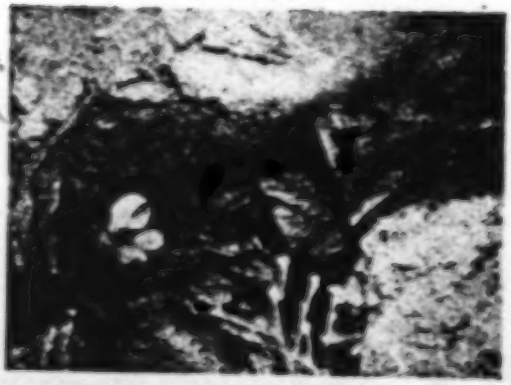
291
492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

291
516
137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*



312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING P. 48]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[FACING P. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

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Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Chief Mauana

Mauana's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mule

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[facing p. 80]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A chichamaya in full swing

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First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter

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The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones

[Facing p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

[Facing p. 97]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[FACING P. 112]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, *or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head*

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[Facing p. 113]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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[Facing p. 128]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves

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[Facing p. 129]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cocina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: Indian camp with cactus fence

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[facing p. 144]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro women are stocky and powerfully built

Below: *Frontier guard—Paraguaipoa*

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[facing p. 145]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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● 291 Bowman
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Below: Male caravan near the Indian border

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[Facing p. 160]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Goajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below; *The Indians' Venue*

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[Facing p. 161]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goujiro SC13

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The ferry-man on the Colorado River

Derrick in Lake Maracaibo

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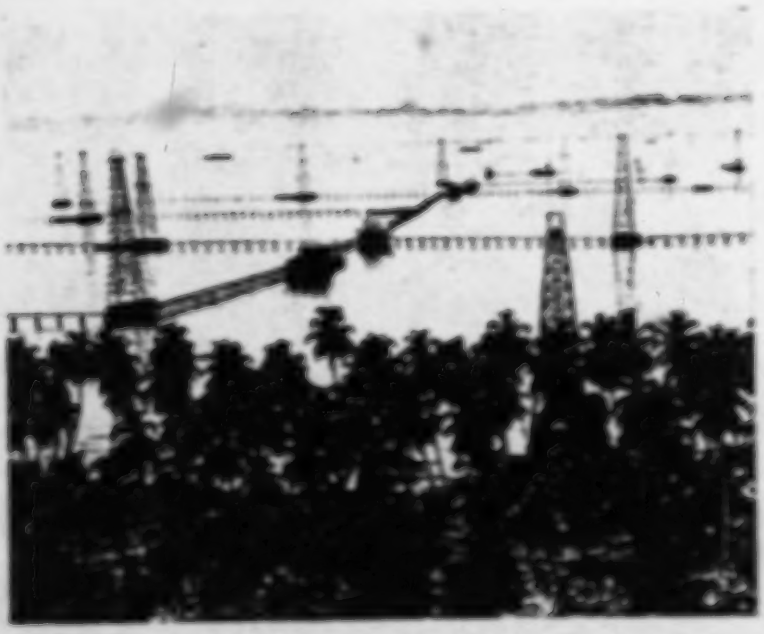

[Facing p. 177]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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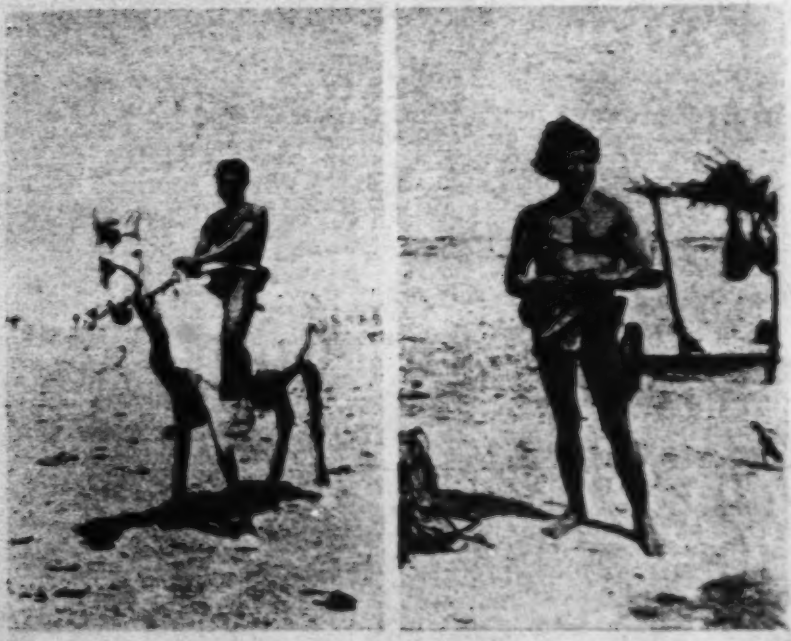

PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[facing p. 380]

4: Preuss--203 E-5 (1914-1915) 1926 SC7 Cagaba SC7
Goajiro SC13

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Ill. 1. My traveling companion, Telesforo Gutierrez, with a headdress (Sánkale), which, for dancing, has feathers stuck in it and is wound with a colored belt, from the temple of Takina.

Ill. 2. Goajiro man.

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Ill. 3a, b. Goajiro woman, from the front and from the side.